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[583] the already higher marriage price in advance, down to the last little string of beads.

The ceremony itself proceeds as follows. A goat is killed, and its blood is mixed with medicines by the medicine man and rubbed onto the body of the miāk. The medicines are made from shavings of bark from various trees and are supposed to cause sexual incapacity to be "stripped off"; the goat is chosen because, [825] in contrast to the chicken, it is the animal of evil, of the sexual drive. Finally, the medicine man solemnly declares that the person concerned has ceased to be a miāk and is thus relieved of the obligation to abstain. Henceforth the erstwhile miāk again wears a loincloth.

5. Deviant Forms of Sexual Intercourse

839 The Negro's strong sweat secretions, but chiefly a skin disease -- Krokro /Ed., ?/ (metšān) -- appearing on the sex organs and between the buttocks, cause an itching irritation which among the Pangwe has led to the bad habit of constantly scratching the penis whenever time and opportunity are favorable, even when there is no itching as well as to relieving an itch. They do this by twirling the penis in a manner similar to that used in making fire with sticks. This is a sport practiced by boys and adults alike and is called a kīk e metšān or a wō'ō (= wō'k) metšān, which simply means "to relieve the itching by scratching" (metšān means itching of any kind, Krokro being simply the most unpleasant form of itch). On this occasion, erection naturally takes place as a rule, although no orgasm follows, just as there was no intention of relieving sexual desire. Indirectly, on the other hand, this action passes into a form of real masturbation, likewise through twirling the penis (a sīk nkūn) from which, however, orgasm does not always follow either. In certain regions among the Okak this nsīe n-nkūn (the noun) is prohibited (ekī); it is said that otherwise the person concerned will no longer be able to cohabit with women successfully. /271/

839 In the case of members of the female sex, masturbation by
[824] means of a plantain fruit is widespread, something which is to be
foreseen in view of the bad situations arising from polygyny. A
proverb states:

[839] o kūle ma zā (sā[k]) ebōn onū,
you find me satisfying vagina (with the) finger (1)

1. Probably a circumlocution since one did not want to mention the real object. Moreover, in coastal English the clusters of fruit growing alternately in a "plantain bunch," are called a "plantain hand," and the individual fruits making up the hand are called "fingers."

oa bēle nkūn,
you have (the) penis,

and this is used whenever someone does not part with something of which he has a superabundance, even when he sees that another person is short of it and makes shift with a poor substitute.

838 We have spoken above of homosexual relations among "children." In adults such conduct is regarded as something immoral and unnatural, simply as unheard of. In reality, however, it is frequently "heard of" that young people carry on homosexual relations with each other and even of older people who take boys -- who, as is well known, "have neither understanding nor shame" -- and readily console them by saying: "bia bō pfiāṅga (we are having fun, playing a game, joking)." The children are excused with the well-known assertion, which in its deeper sense can rarely be defended: bō ne bōṅgo = they are ignorant, that is, they know not what they do. Adults are excused with the corresponding assertion: a bēle nnēm e bōṅgo = he has (the) heart (that is, the aspirations) of boys, which is, of course, by no means flattering to them.

Publicly, of course, homosexuals are treated with the greatest contempt, and they were therefore forced, as a matter of course,

838 Concerning homosexual intercourse among women, I was unable to discover any facts.

839 So far as I know, bestiality does not occur.

6. Pregnancy, Birth

843 The Pangwe recognize the beginning of a pregnancy by the nonappearance of menstruation; they are also familiar with the fact that a slight indisposition and headaches about a month after cohabitation may cause one to suspect pregnancy. Once pregnancy [833] is established, the man continues to have intercourse with a woman for about two more months, but then relations with her must be broken off, since it is feared that the fetus would be destroyed or at least harmed by the seed that it must "drink." It must also be emphasized that this prohibition is not always observed; indeed, [755] there is a medicine, sand in water, which a woman is supposed to drink if the man has intercourse with her shortly before the confinement. The sand is supposed to scour the seed from the body of the fetus.

[843] Usually the beginning of a pregnancy is greeted by the woman as a joyous event. There are also cases, however, when it is not 847 welcomed, for instance, when prohibited intercourse with men of 278 related kin groups has consequences, when a woman is pregnant by an "unloved man," or generally if she does not want to assume the burden of rearing the child or wants to evade the command of sexual abstinence. In such cases -- and they are by no means rare -- the fetus is aborted (a gbwē' abūm, a kū'e abūm, "to drop the belly (fruit)"). The medicines, for the greater part poisonous substances with which we have already become acquainted as fish poisons, are: 1) Piptadenia africana Hook. f., Leguminosa (tūm IV), bark loosened in pieces, pared and boiled, and the extract, when cooled, used as an enema; 2) Cylicodiscus gabunensis Harms, Leguminosa (edūm), used in the same way; 3) kernel of the fruit of Mimusops djave (Lan.) Engl. (tree = adžāb, kernel = ngōñ-ebōñ IV), ground in water; 4) Rubiacea

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769 When a man dies and one of his relatives marries his wives, there is no additional payment of dowry. When a man loses his wife, the dowry is repaid fully, or in part, by the relatives of the deceased wife if she has left no children. If there are children, the widower makes no claim to the dowry.

765 The widow cuts her hair. After the death of the husband, the wife is made to confess the names of her lovers in order to make them give payments which will finance the celebrations at the end of mourning. She must weep for one whole day and one whole night; she may do nothing without the permission of her husband's heir; and for a month she stays dirty, dressed in an old loincloth. At the end of this time there are celebrations of the end of mourning which last several days. The widow sits for a whole night in the village square, and the husband's relatives throw her water and pimento. The following morning she jumps four times over a fire of dry banana leaves. While she is jumping, men hit her for the anguish which she has caused her husband to endure. After that she receives a new loincloth from her family and then, before beginning the dances, if she has not accepted remarriage to her husband's heir, she chooses a new husband from among the assembled men of the dead man's family.

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839 Neither homosexuality nor bestiality have ever been recorded, to our knowledge, among the Fan.

548 Prostitution does not exist.

833 Impotence (eyel), if it is congenital, is attributed to the mother's having accidentally caused milk to flow onto the penis of her son while nursing him. If it occurs later, it is said to be from the abuse of coitus and it is believed that there is no more sperm in the impotent person.

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888 Family Group. The family (nda ebur) consists of the man, his wives, his children, and his brothers. It usually includes several homes and constitutes a village in itself. The authority belongs to the father, and it is he who commands because of his being the most respected. He has absolute power, but also incurs certain duties, the most important of which is to find money or goods as dowry for the women whom his sons wish to marry. These dowries are usually obtained through payments made by the girls' husbands. The most complete mutual aid is obligatory among all members of the family, in all circumstances. When the parents have become too old to continue exercising their authority, they live with the family of their oldest son

583 common, appears as the sign of exceptional success, which explains the prestige of the nkukuma who owns a greater number of wives and more property (bium). The price characteristic manifested now in the bride price is a recent transformation. Originally, its final payment sealed an alliance that could not be broken without a long process of "divorce"; one which survived even the man who enabled it to be, since the wife was transferred to the eldest son or the oldest brother; and one which, above all, legitimized the ownership of posterity: if the bride price was not paid in full, the newborn child belonged to the parents of the wife; if not fully paid back [126] at the time of a "divorce," the child belonged to the father. The fact that the bride price is not refunded at the death of the wife, when the latter leaves posterity, does not suggest that it is a matter of the price of the latter, but rather a reciprocity emphasizing that through the posterity the alliance has become a kinship.

562 We have thus endeavored to show the social importance of
584 marriage, pointing out particularly the fundamental role of the links it establishes between groups and the pre-eminence attached to controlling the circulation of the women and their bride prices. But obviously this system does not always function smoothly. A lack of equilibrium exists between the meaning it has for the grouping and the meaning it might have for the individuals concerned. Certain rules of procedure, recognized by custom, provide solutions for possible conflicts. The marriage agreed to by the young people may take place against the wish of the family heads following the rape (abdm) of the girl (1); the wife has various methods

1. Cf. E. Trezenem, op. cit., p. 88:
"The young man gives what he has in money and goods, and the parents are obliged to agree to the marriage by accepting this first payment."

of recourse against a seriously prejudicial union. Her complaint may result in her marriage to another of the sons of her father-in-law, or else she may go to a man of her choice who pays the

537 the law has not changed on this point. "No bride price, no marriage"
583 —Sa nsuba, ve alu' e se kik. We shall find this principle again in connection with legitimate descent.

533 Thus it is the absence of payment of the nsuba that gives their
837 character to free union, ébon, and to adultery, mejian, and makes them really infringements upon the law of property, justifying the fact
[684] that customary courts logically refuse to impose a penalty in a case of ébon when the girl returns to her family pregnant (2).

2. This is hard for some magistrates to understand.

581 A husband must provide his wife with lodging and clothes and
513 must clothe any children he has by her. He must clear the field she will cultivate, provide her with household utensils and, in theory, with meat. He must allow her to visit her parents, to whom he owes respect. He must not use sorcery (3) against her and must respect the

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3. Likened to sorcery are fellatio and sodomy, the grounds for numerous divorces from former members of native infantry regiments.

[833] prerogatives of rank that she holds among her co-wives; he is supposed to sleep with her when she is not menstruating nor pregnant nor nursing.
[834] He must not beat her beyond what she can stand nor expose her vulva in public. /54/

A woman owes obedience to her husband, to her mother-in-law, and to the first wife, respect to her affinal relatives, therefore to her husband's clan; she must be faithful to her husband and perform her conjugal duty. She is responsible for cultivating the plots cleared for her, for fishing with weirs, for feeding her children, taking her turn at cooking for her husband, for keeping her hut clean and that of her husband when she is sleeping with him, and for helping to build them (it is she who applies the banco onto the frame). She does not have to take care of imported household equipment and clothes because these are biôm of a masculine nature (but the schools and missions are trying to train women to do so). Finally, and above all, she
[842] must be prolific: this is her first duty and a great deal will be forgiven her if she performs it.

754 the évu or the animal employed as assistant being killed during a skirmish, which would bring about the nnem's death.

Many people nevertheless regard these disadvantages as weighing little against the immediate advantages which the évu procures. Therefore some bemie (people without évu) have themselves initiated into ngbwel, and some beyem dedicate their children from birth (which has the additional effect of protecting them against the parent's évu). For this purpose beyem organize into secret societies (and these are really secret societies), well described by Trilles and particularly so by Lavignotte (no. 155).

754 152 Babies are dedicated by a nnem kinsman in a ceremony, aka'é, before the umbilicus is healed (the évu is believed to enter through the umbilical lesion). A special taboo is imposed on the child, and a part of his body (finger, toe or even foot, hand or whole arm) is symbolically sacrificed to the évu with a slight letting of blood. From that time on, only the shade of the sacrificed part, its semblance, is believed to continue to exist. The child is then nkôman ngbwel /118/, prepared for the ngbwel, but he is not yet a nnem; if he were it would be discovered at the preliminary stage of the adolescent initiation, and he would be put to death. It is only at the time of

754 initiation with the official rites that he becomes a sorcerer, kuli ngbwel, through a further ceremony during which his "godparents" reveal to him that he has been "prepared," dedicated. He must then buy back the bodily part "sacrificed" at the aka'é by offering his "godparents" the body of a member of his family, killed and eaten by the beyem in circumstances about which little is known. What is known suggests some of the sexual aspects of European witches' sabbaths (apparently participants of both sexes, naked, practiced sodomy, 754 139 bisôk, and profaned the ancestral relics, probably fragments of biéti). The initiation of an adult consists only of the akuli ngbwel, the aka'é being restricted to children.

754 788 Beyem meet periodically, aside from initiation ceremonies, in order to "feed the bivu" in anthropophagous or necrophagous meals accompanied by obscene rituals. These meetings take place at the new moon in secret places in the forest, usually in clearings on top of hills or on islands in marshes — mmimie are afraid of stumbling by chance on one of these spots which, according to some of my in-

725 formants, are guarded between meetings by an aardvark, mvômesila. If such a place is discovered, a nnengam is immediately called in to 755 perform a sort of exorcism.